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MONDAY EVENING, JUNE 23, 1919.

ELIHU ROOT'S PROGRAM.

O get the true value of the Root program for Ameriican action on the peace treaty, it must be remembered that Mr. Root came into the controversy, if such it deserves to be called, in the capacity of a conciliator. Beyond a doubt his motive was entirely patriotic and he rought to the task a mind which many more people than the late Colonel Roosevelt believed to be the best in America today, but in order to accomplish his purpose he had to take into consideration a highly sensitized human element. In short, in addition to attempting to save for the world the ground gained as a result of history's worst war he was under the necessity of devising a plan which would save the faces of a lot of statesmen, political managers and editors, who have been permitting their feelings, rather than their intellects, to control their speech and action. It is conceivable that Mr. Root has little sympathy for these unfortunate gentlemen, but he cannot be equally indifferent to the possible effect of their ill advised course upon the future of the Republican party, and, as he puts it himself in his letter to Senator Lodge, "the Covenant of the League of Nations contains a very great deal of very high value which the world ought not to lose." Therefore as a result of the position in which he found himself when he attacked the problem, some of Mr. Root's recommendations doubtless are different from what they would have been had he been untrammeled.

A case in point is his agreement with the Knox proposition that there should be separate action in the peace terms and the Covenant of the League of Nations. Another is the suggestion that in advising and consenting to the ratication of the treaty the senate reserve and exclude from its consent the Tenth article of the Covenant of the League. As for the first it is probable that when the treaty actually is before the senate it will be found impracticable to follow Senator Knox's plan, at least to the extent of ratifying the peace terms and then throwing open the question of the League to an interminable senate debate. Likewise more discussion probably will modify materially Mr. Root's view of Article Ten, which he says is "not an essential or even an appropriate part of the provision for a League of Nations," but which Judge 1 aft says is the heart of the

Stripped of all pretense, the objection to Article Ten grows out of fear that it would involve us in foreign wars without our consent. Judge Taft, former Attorney General Wickersham and many other Republicans of equal ability and prominence say that this fear is not well ground-But they are not making nearly as much of an imon upon the public mind, which is poorly equipped to deal with a subject of this kind, as are the Reeds, the hermans and the Borahs, who have no compunction about making use of every form of political, economic and even Yeligious prejudice to bolster up the false position they have created for themselves. People who because of the cloud of unreasoning prejudice and party politics which is hanging over the deliberation at Washington and obscuring

much of the discussion on the platform and in the newspapers find it impossible to form an opinion regarding the possible effect of Article Ten may get some light and comfort out of the comment of Professor Charles Cheney Hyde, who was retained by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States to follow intimately all the developments of the Peace confreence and present an analysis of the League Covenant. Prof. Hyde's report was submitted at the annual meeting of the chamber held in May at St. Louis, and because of the importance of the issue discussed we herewith reprint in its entirely what he had to say about

It is definitely agreed to respect the terri-torall integrity and political independence of each member state, and to guarantee both against external aggression. In case of such aggression, or of any threat or danger of it, the council is to advise upon means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

This is one of the most important undertakings contained in the Covenant. The special relation of it to the United States deserves at-

tention, and particularly in connection with the Monroe dectrine.

The aim of the Monroe Doctrine, however, defined or applied, has always been to defend the safety of the United States, and, secondly, to protect from contemplated harm weaker countries of this hemisphere. As now inter-preted, the Monroe Doctrine is deemed by the United States to justify its intervention to pre-vent external interference with the political ependence of any American state by any non-American state, and also to forbid the transfer, however voluntary, of any American territory to a grantee of any other continent. In applying these principles of restriction the United States has commonly avoided concerted action with European states. On rare occa-sions it has, however, acted in cooperation with them. It will be recalled that by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, concluded with England in 1850, it was agreed that both contracting parties would refrain from occupying, or fortifying, or colonizing or exercising dominion over Central America, and that they would

guarantee the neutrality of any trans-Isth-mian ship canal which might be constructed. It is known, however, that the American people have been and remain reluctant to give to Europe or Asia a voice in the policing of the western hemisphere. Conversely, they appear to be equally reluctant to participate, save under extraordinary conditions, in the policing of Europe or Asia or Africa. The original draft of the Covenant appeared to make no allowance for anis condition. In the amended draft, however, there has been incorporated a declaration in these words:
Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to
affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration, or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."

Thus there would appear to be no design to
oppose the efforts of the United States to protect, from any form of external aggression, any

tect, from any form of external aggression, any other state of the American hemisphere. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that the League would take part in such a work until the aid was invoked by the United States. Again, it

was invoked by the United States. Again, it seems unlikely that the League would interfere with pressure brought to bear by the United States to prevent the voluntary transfer of American territory to any non-American state.

Of course, it is possible that the restraint imposed by the United States under cover of the Monroe Dectrine might be protested against by another state, on the ground that it was an unfair application of the Monroe doctrine, and an unreasonable restraint upon the exercise of political independence. In such case the aid of the League might be in fact evoked as a check upon the United States. Such a situation might perhaps be anticipated, if the United States should exert its strength to restrain from wrong-deing any of its southto restrain from wrong-doing any of its southern neighbors. Thus, a question for your con-sideration is, what would be the response of the League to such a protest or complaint, or conversely, would the League be disposed to impede the United States in its effort to establish, even by force, conditions of stable gov-ernment in countries subject to chronic disorder or unable to respond faithfully to their international obligations. I offer no opinion on this matter. It should be noted, however, that this question would not arise with respect to states which, under existing treaties, enjoy in varying degree the protection of the United

Generally speaking, the Covenant directly forbids the several members of the League to commit those acts of aggression which the United States, by virtue of the Monroe Doc-trine, asserts the right to oppose when direct-ed against American states. Respect for the Covenant would, therefore, appear greatly to diminish the burden now assumed by the United States, by simply minimizing the likelihood thatthere would be occasion for American in-

Another grave question presents itself in this connection, What obligation does the Covenant impose upon the United States as a guarantor of the territorial integrity and pol-itical independence of countries outside of and perhaps remote from the American continents? Would the United States, through the normal operation of the League, be called upon to send armed forces to check hostilites in the Balkans, or Manchuria, or South Africa? The Covenant itself sheds no light on this matter. The council, as has been noted, is to advise upon the means by which the obligation of a guarantor is to be fulfilled. It seems reasonable to believe that that body would be highly reluctant to recommend that a state remote from the zone of hostilities, and having no terri-torial possessions near them, be summoned to employ force, at least until states in the imme-diate vicinity of the conflict or threatened conflict should prove inadequate. It is not understood, moreover that the council is given more than advisory power in such a matter; and it must be recalled that, save under specified circumstances, its decisions require the unanimous consent of the members of the League

represented at its meeting.
In case, however, of a grave conflict involving several states, and beyond the control of the powers near at hand, the United States might be expected to take a part.

It should be observed that the guaranties of territorial integrity and political independence

of members of the League are applicable solely to external aggression. The Covenant contains no undertaking burdened the contracting parties with the duty to assist in repressing revo-lution or in defending a government against internal disorder. Thus the United States would not find itself obligated to help any other power to retain supremacy over all of its ex-isting possessions in case the inhabitants of any one of them sought by force of arms to gain independence.

A fundamental principle of international law demands respect for the political independence of every well ordered state by all other countries. Definite recognition of this obligation in the Covenant of the Let ye would appear, therefore, to be a generally stabilizing influence; for it would tend to minimize the danger of capricious intervention on loose grounds by individual states, and possibly thereby assure fresh protection for comercial and economic relationships of an international character.

The potential benefits to the United States of the League of Nations are immense. If the League fails we shall have to arm. It is conceivable that in time, perhaps within the first decade after the date of the peace treaty, we shall have to have an army as large as that Germany maintained at the outbreak of the war, and a navy as great as Great Britain's. That would mean billions annually in taxes and some form of compulsory military service. It might even involve a fundamental change in our national character and With the League none of these things would be necessary. But we cannot have the League without putting something into it in the way of trust and by assuming some of its burdens. The real question before the country, therefore, is, are the American people big enough intellectually and spiritually to keep the torch of human liberty advancing, or are they, for the take of a fancied security, which in fact does not exist, willing to settle down like some huge Thibet behind a wall fabricated out of a tradition of American isolation which never did exist except in a limited way that has no application in a world organized as the one is in which we now live.

There ought not to be much doubt about how a people who were capable of seeing clearly the proper course at the time the Louisiana purchase was an issue, and who did not flinch from the expansion which followed the Spanish war, will answer. The League of Nations must be accepted substantially as it was agreed to in Paris or the great American Republic, for the first time in its wonderful career, will turn its back upon its mission. Elihu Root knows this and the fact that he does is written large between the lines of his letter to Senator Lodge.

Germany's national assembly voted to sign the peace treaty because there was nothing else to do short of inviting the everlasting ruin of the country. However, there was an element of uncertainty about it up until the last moment because the non-Teutonic world was unable to determine to what limit German perversity was capable of going. The assembly voted to sign with certain "reservations;" and there probably is now no very large proportion of the public which is in favor of accepting the terms in good faith. But the Germans are going to find that the world that they will now turn to is not the same world they turned their back on in July five years age. The signing of the peace treaty means the formal clesing of the war, but it is the beginning of the repentance of the German people.

This evening the campaign for funds for the Greater Fairmont band will be opened with a concert at the Court house. During the past three or four days the newspapers have been giving the details of the band's project and we have no doubt that there will be a liberal response from public spirited Fairmont people. Under Prof. Vincent the band will most certainly be a credit to the town and it deserves public support.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BAND COMPETITION.

FAIRMONT, June 21 .- [Editor The West Virginian.]-Civic pride has been aroused and it appears very much as if the drive for \$7,500 by the Greater Fairmont band this week will be an "over the top" proposition, although it will mean some work to reach the goal. Campaigns have been numer-ous but every one has been made nec-essary because of the need of reconessary because of the need of reconstructive measures following the world war. This is true of the band, which shared its burdens also.

There should be civic pride enough in the city to care for music and suf-

ficient to darry along both of the bands that are now in the city. A listener informs me that the Moose band recently organized, has done surprising-ly well for the short time it has been ly well for the short time it has been organized. There is enough business in Marion county for both union bands as the field generally enlarges when two bands are at hand. Keen competition in the band business also is a good thing as both organizations will do their utmost to improve.

Purely as one interested in music Lam anylous to see both bands area.

I am anxious to see both bands prog-ress as it will be a musical develop-ment for Fairmont. The field of activity is wide and much business can be developed as one lodge will soon secure a band for its function because another one has done so and so on.

I might add that I am pleased to see

the interest that The West Virginian has taken in band matters generally whether it was devoting space to a brass band column or whether it was a boost for either of the Fairmont bands.

party signed "Interested" the other night appears to have dropped a few thoughts that might be success-fully applied in Fairmont, namely, the "harmony chord" for musicians gener-

I wish to thank you for your kind-

RUFF STUFF

The I-told-you-so guy was pretty numerous this morning.

Also he was pretty loud.

But at that not much money changed hands as a result of the action of the Teut general assembly.

Ninety-seven souses picked up by the Pittsburgh police Saturday night hailed from dry territory.

Gosh, at that rate the Pittsburgh authorities had better rent a couple of car barns and fit them up as lock ups for next Saturday night.

These Teut sailors sunk a heap more than battleships when they pulled off that stunt at Scarpa Flow

These ginks who kicked about the ot weather last week probably kicked about the coolness this morning.

That's one of the nice things about the weather. . . . There is always something in it for

ome one to kick about. However, it was not so terribly cold this morning.

The guys who are going down the river to fish for the remainder of the month did not have to cut any ice to get to the water.

But perhaps they did not notice that

Being intent upon arranging a com-plete and never failing understanding with the nearest groggery.

Notice some one has a fast motor ...

Wonder if that has any connection with the fact that the great dry wave is going to settle on the country in a

TRUTHS AND TRAVESTIES

pour his metered arrows into whatever thing or condition grated on his sensibilities. Here is an epigrammatic thrust of which he rid himself after trying to get to Morgantown over the roads in Winfield district: "I'm now arrived—thanks to the gods!

Through pathways rough and muddy A certain sign that makin' roads Is not this people's study: Although I'm not wi' crammed,

I'm sure the Bible says
That needless sinners shall be damn'd Unless they mend their WAYS."
Parade Rest!

Don't keep yourself poor trying to make people thing you are rich!

Just before the ladies go out for the auto drive, if they will annoin their faces with Nyal's Fac Cream, with perocide, dust kielted up by winds cannot are the pores of the face. The fine cold cream is so easily washed off afterwards and the man left in perfect condition unharmed by the wind and dust. A cold cream face bath after the auto ride is the modern toilet method. Use this same fine cold cream for best results. The Girl in The Office says someone said at the dinner table last night that Reverend Eddy was a great bibliographic student and she knows he must be for one time at a picnic he told her the Latin names for three bugs that were crawling up her sleeve. Ground Arms!

Appropos of the organization of a band for Greater Fairmont is it in order to ask what kind of a horn is a Leghorn-and who will play it?

Squads Right!
Seen and heard at Hawkinberry
Beach yesterday:
A/number of girls with (deleted by censor) while a crowd of young fellows were shooting (deleted by censor) and several people engaged in (deleted by censor). One girl was wearing a (deleted by censor) while another had on a very attractive (deleted by censor). While trying to clamber into a boat one young

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to come. Present costs would prohibit the selling of these

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steeples. What might be the fate of a

trip from our present position in space back to the earth I cannot say-I

would simply trust to luck when the

time for hopping off came around.

But momentarily I don't know what

to do. I recall a common phrase used back in the twentieth century which fits my condition to a nicety—I am

very much "up in the air."
(Hold fast! There is yet a chance.)

BY EE MEREDITH

In the early days of what is now West Virginia there was no heavy walking across the floor when salt was

being measured for it was accomplished by hand and so many handfuls were counted a half bushel. The price of a bushel of salt in those days was a good cow and a half. The salt was

brought a long distance from the east and each horse carried two bushels,

weighing 84 pounds to the bushel. It

was not a heavy load but early writers explain that it was enough consider-

ing the scanty subsistence allowed the equine on the journey over the mountains.

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Sometimes accidents will happen to

lady lost her (deleted by censor) and several men (deleted by cen sor). A fat man struck his toe on a rock and said (deleted by censor) and his wife was there and heard him and she told the poor man (deleted by censor). Squads Right About!

Right Shoulder-Arms! The Bard has received a most inter-esting letter from his old friend, Adam Lighe, of Paw Paw district, which is

page, of Paw Paw district, which is ere reproduced:

Dear Bard: I hesitate to relate to you what I will now relate, for fear there will be some who will question a reputation for veracity sustained through many years' as-sociation with Frank Hood, Bill Clayton, Tommy Thorn and oth-ers. But here are the facts:

Clayton, Tommy Thorn and others. But here are the facts:
Yesterday on returning from church I took a turn around the barn to get wakened up before dinner, when I noticed a particularly large icicle hanging from the eaves of the barn. The presence of the lettle was not seem ence of the icicle was not so sur-prising, for there were a number there, but on observing this par-ticular one more closely I per-ceived a two-pound cat fish frozen solidly in the middle of it. I am at great loss to explain how this fish became imbedded in the icicle and appeal to you or some other great scientist to explain it to me.

Puzzledly yours, ADAM LIGHE. The only explanation the Bard has to offer is that the fish was engaged in a poker game on the roof of Mr. Lighe's barn and seeing him approachviolating the Sabbath, took refuge in the icicle as a hiding place.

Order—Arms!

How many fibs in a woman?

All Hands On Deck! THE DIARY OF AN AMAZING
ADVENTURE.
By PROF. L LYLY KELL.
June 23, 3000. I nursed Soso from
Saturday over the Sabbath and today

he was able to resume his efforts to start the Ozone Cab. But he has not yet succeeded and I have reprimanded him severely for his recent over-eating of the life sustaining tablets. I believe had he not so dangerously indulged himself he would now have better command of the strike situation and that the Ozone Cab would be will-ing to move along. I am seriously considering whether to remain here and await developments or to return to earth on my patent glider.

The patent glider is somewhat ques-tionable. My experimental trials of it were made only from modest heights such as off the tops of old time church

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